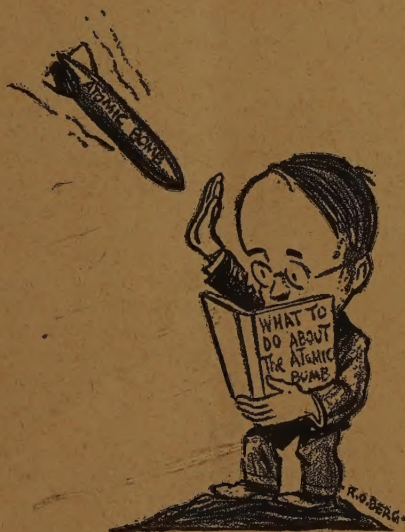


FELLOWSHIP

September 1946



Vol. XII—No. 8



The Role of the Pacifist in the Atomic Age

A SYMPOSIUM BY TWELVE WELL-KNOWN PACIFISTS



Will British Labor Remain in Power?

By VERA BRITTAIN



Origins of CPS—Another View

By HENRY GEIGER and GORDON CLOUGH

20 cents a copy

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John Haynes Holmes

Bernard Shaw once wrote a book on *The Perfect Wagnerite*. That's a good phrase! Why not an article on "The Perfect Pacifist"?

I

The perfect pacifist is first of all, of course, a non-resistant. He will not resort to force and violence under any circumstances.

There are pacifists, and good ones, who believe that force is justifiable, or at least excusable, in personal defense, as against burglars and highwaymen, or in protection of women and children, the weak and the aged, from assault. These pacifists approve of a police force in civil life, and of an international police force to keep peace between nations. But they are utterly opposed to war, with its wholesale anarchy, its wanton destruction of property and life, its wild release of brutish passion, its hideous involvement of the innocent, its swift reversion of civilization to barbarism. The use of organized force and violence on this universal scale, in either aggression or defense, is as wrong as it is dangerous. It is against war that these pacifists protest.

But the perfect pacifist refuses to make distinction between forms of violence. Whether used in a personal fight or an international war, by a policeman on his beat or a soldier in his foxhole, violence remains what it is—a return to animalism. Man, by virtue of his human and therefore divine nature, has put away the tooth and claw of the jungle beast. He has no longer need of these, since he is dowered with other and nobler powers. For him to resort now to force, for any cause however good, is to abandon his manhood, and sink instantly to the base level of "the ape and tiger." What happens to society on a universal scale, when war is unleashed upon the world, happens on an infinitely smaller but none the less decisive scale to the single man who turns to violence. Anarchy is let loose within him; destruction wreaks havoc in his breast. This is the very pattern of war. So the perfect pacifist strives to eschew all violence. He makes it his rule of life to rely upon the spirit of God's own love that dwells within his soul.

II

The perfect pacifist, secondly, has a single allegiance—not to his country but to God.

To many a pacifist this means simply an abandonment of nationalism in favor of internationalism, a transfer of loyalty from a particular group to humanity at large. But to the perfect pacifist this is not enough. All too easy is it to identify the world with one's country. The patriot inevi-

tably thinks that his country and its fate represent the true destiny of mankind, and therefore he ardently stands by his country, "right or wrong," in any war. Soviet Russia is a country which holds the first loyalty of many non-Russians not because it is a country, but because it embodies a cause, so they imagine, which is that of humanity itself. If a war should break out between Russia and the United States, not a few Americans would favor and fight for Russia on the ground that a defeat for Russia would be a defeat for the "brave, new world." So world vision is not enough! It is better than patriotism, far better than chauvinism, but it falls seriously short of the goal of peace.

This is the reason why the perfect pacifist gives his first and last allegiance neither to his country nor to the world, but to God, whose kingdom is above all kingdoms, and whose will is above all laws. He can bow to nothing that is of this earth, even though it be "the Parliament of Man, the Federation of the World." It is true that a world-state marks an indispensable advance over a welter of competing and contending nationalistic states, but what if the world-state becomes totalitarian, and establishes tyranny and practices injustice? A charter, a government for all mankind may seem ideal, but what if the charter is defective and the government corrupt? There is something pathetic about the idea that a world organization of nations may solve our problems just because its frontiers are universal rather than parochial. Such an idea is a part of the secularism of our time which deems man and his world to be sufficient unto themselves. But if God is left out, there can be no peace. If his will is ignored, we shall not survive. Hence the insistence of the perfect pacifist that his allegiance is only to God. "We ought to obey God rather than men."

III

This brings us to our last point—that the perfect pacifist is a religious pacifist!

There are pacifists who are pacifists for political reasons—the structure of the world is defective, and there is no peace! There are others who are pacifists for economic reasons—it is capitalism that makes our wars, and therefore we should establish socialism or communism! There are always those who are pacifists for humanitarian reasons—war is ugly, painful, bloody, cruel, and therefore should be abolished for mercy's sake! All these pacifists are sincere, but shallow. They have true impulses, but superficial understanding. Their seeds are sown

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in good soil, but at points where there is little depth, and "when the sun is risen they are scorched, and because they have no root, they wither away." When war comes, in other words, they are not likely to stand the test.

But the perfect pacifist has a faith that is of the spirit. His pacifism is a phase of his religion—nay, in this age, the heart of his religion! It is his interpretation of the Fatherhood of God—that God is our Father, and all men therefore his children. It is his application of the Brotherhood of Man—that all men, as children of God, are brothers one of another, and therefore must love one another. It is his understanding of the kingdom of God—that this kingdom is the rule of God on earth, and this rule peace and good will among men. It is pacifism of this type which endures when all else fails. For "if God is for us, who can be against us?"

The perfect pacifist? He is the man who sets no limits to his faith. He would be perfect, not in pride, but in humility. "Perfect even as (our) Father which is in heaven is perfect."

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THE JOURNAL OF THE FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION

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Subheads

Transcendent

The inescapable moral responsibility of the individual for his acts, belief in which keeps hundreds of COs in prison and forced-labor camps, ironically is the principal argument by which the American and British governments seek to have some scores of German "war criminals" shot. Justice Jackson and his colleagues at Nuremberg insist that these Nazis cannot pass the moral buck to their superior officers or to the state. (This is the same argument that many an American CO had bounced back at him with some strong comments about "anarchists" by an irate judge.) Their position was summed up by the British prosecutor, who said, "... the ordinary people of the world—and I make no distinction now between friend and foe—are now determined that the individual must transcend the state."

* * *

The Allied governments, meanwhile, provide a practical demonstration of their own adherence to this principle by holding some four million German war prisoners at slave labor more than a year after the war's end, in direct contravention of the Geneva Convention. The British hold 388,000 of these men for harvesting crops. British farmers pay the government 80 cents a day per prisoner, and the government passes along 20 cents to the prisoner. (Top wage for CPS men, who also transcend the state, is \$2.50 per month.) The United States has no German prisoners working for it, but was kind enough to turn over its prisoners to England, France and Belgium.

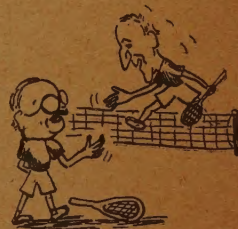
American soldiers who are forbidden to marry German or Japanese girls with whom they happen to have fallen in love also will bear witness to the tender solicitude of the state for the sovereignty of the individual over his own affairs.

Sportsmen

Our Mr. Byrnes and Russia's Mr. Molotov met at a social affair in Paris recently between peace conference sessions, and most of the New York papers, carried a radioed photograph of the meeting. Maybe we're overly sensitive about such things these days, but the gentlemen looked too darned light-hearted. Mr. Byrnes' head was cocked to one side, his face split by a wide grin, and his finger wagging—roguishly is the word that comes to mind—under the nose of the broadly smiling Soviet emissary. No

one wants to see diplomats scowling at each other, but neither do we want to see them looking like a couple of professional competitors after hours, reassuring each other that "after all, it's only a game." Someone ought to advise Messrs. Molotov and

Byrnes that they are not opponents but teammates, and that a team that is losing as badly as theirs is ought to be looking a little grim and getting lots of sleep, especially when the player on the other side of the net is Death.



Re-Design

The Bikini tests are over for this year, and the first conclusion to reach the public ear is that the navy will have to be redesigned for the atomic age. Ships are to have heavier armor on their hulls, less vulnerable superstructures, and a sort of tortoise-shell design above the waterline so that bomb-created tidal waves may sweep over the ships with a minimum of damage. (At the same time comes the cheering note that atomic bombs probably will not be used primarily against the navy, since they are so much more destructive when dropped on cities!) It is, of course, sheer coincidence that such redesigning will make huge new appropriations necessary.

This would seem to be a good time to start thinking seriously of redesigning the human being for atomic war. The atomic man ought to have certain obvious characteristics, and since the process of selective breeding is very slow, Congress should appropriate the necessary funds very soon.

Certainly the atomic man ought to be streamlined to minimize the effects of blast. Probably this can be achieved best by developing a very small head, coming to a point or a small knob on top, which could face into the blast much as a boat heads into the waves. (Such a head would leave

little room for brains, but that should not be too great an obstacle.) Fingernails and fingers should be strengthened for quick digging in the earth; the whole body be made much smaller for easier squeezing into holes and crevices; and the ability developed to go without oxygen or water



for at least two weeks at a time in order to avoid contamination from radioactive air and water supplies. Encase such a creature in a lead sheathing three feet thick and you have just the fellow to man the navy's new ships!

Profiteers

The inevitable sordid stories of wartime profiteering have begun to come out, somewhat earlier than might have been expected, and with them the inevitable outburst of editorial and legislative indignation. From the horrified tones and uplifted hands one would almost suppose these pundits had never suspected that anything like that possibly could happen. All our murders, one suspects them of boasting, are committed with clean knives.

Since almost anything is worth while that exposes war for the evil and corrupting thing it is, probably the total effect of these disclosures will be on the credit side of the ledger. But nothing really will work until individuals realize that by supporting or condoning war—any war—they automatically give approval also to the breakdown of every kind of moral and ethical standard. How should a man feel stricken in conscience over stealing a few dollars from some of his fellow men when he is endorsing the raining of fire and explosives on others? What is a little graft to the man whose fortune is built on fratricide?

When the war was in its most savage phase, a boy in his teens was tried and convicted in the Midwest for the murder of a young girl. The sentencing judge, in a fury of rage, sent him to the penitentiary for something like 200 years, with the provision that each year, on the anniversary of the crime, he be confined in "solitary" all day without food or drink. Yet the crime was not unnatural for a boy who could read every day of medals awarded to men for their exploits in strangling their fellows, or gouging out their eyes, or disembowelling them. This really is one world, and the spirit of man can no more be isolationist than his politics or economics.

Refugees

Americans are righteously and vocally indignant over Britain's refusal to allow Jewish refugees into Palestine. From all appearances, they are almost equally indignant over President Truman's suggestion that this country admit a few more of these hapless people. It's quite a large mote in the British eye, but that's no slouch of a beam in ours!

Super-Race

Speaking of refugees, Argentina has announced its intention of accepting 1,000 Norwegian "quislings" as settlers, because they are of the "best racial types." Director of Migration Peralta emphasized that his country would "avoid the settlement of racially inferior people." This primitive and undemocratic doctrine is a direct throwback to Hitler's *Mein Kampf* and the United States immigration laws.

Dud

William Laurence, distinguished science editor of *The New York Times*, comments that the worst effects of the



Bikini tests were on the American people. Because the bomb did not set the world afire, or create huge tidal waves, many Americans decided that it is a "dud," or at worst "just another weapon." It is not a dud, nor yet "just another weapon," remarks Mr. Laurence soberly, but "the greatest cataclysmic force ever released on earth." And there is no defense, he adds, except "the elimination of war and the effective international control of atomic weapons."

* * *

Eleven days after the under-water explosion, testers were still unable to board many of the Bikini ships because of the continued dangerous radioactivity. Vice-Admiral Blandy, apparently trapped by the "just another weapon" point of view, described the killing rays as one of "the best—or worst—features" of the bomb.

Twelve days after the underwater test, French scientists discovered a radioactive cloud drifting at 6,300 feet altitude over France.

Hole

It may not be too wise to scoff at the warning of a science professor that the tests might blow a hole in the bottom of the ocean and let sea water in on the superheated interior of the earth. The deep-water test, when that danger will be greatest, was postponed until next summer. The shallow-water test, with most of the force dissipated upward, blew a hole fifty feet deep in the bottom of Bikini lagoon!

The Irony of It

The Northwestern University *Alumni News* carried an item about seven COs who served as guinea pigs on a "minimum diet" experiment. The director, commending the men for their loyalty remarked: "By their work they have contributed to medical science, human welfare, rehabilitation, and the design of combat rations."

Alternative

Dr. Harold Urey, still a frightened man, suggests that if real control of the bomb is not achieved, the United States may have to launch an atomic war "with the frank purpose of conquering the world and ruling it as we desire." He does not contemplate such a course with pleasure, admits Dr. Urey, but it may become a "strict necessity." Working, of course, on the theory that he who saves his life saves it.

Straws in a Foolish Wind

A Trans-Jordan health expert urges that the world's birth rate be cut in order to avoid wars. But then what would the governments do for soldiers?

Double Talk

Brig. Gen. Roger Ramey, bragging about the Air Force's part in the Bikini tests, adds, "But it is not destruction that we of the Air Forces are primarily concerned with. Our primary task has been to demonstrate the flexibility of air power and atomic power. We have demonstrated that flexibility."

* * *

In *Harper's Bazaar* there is an advertisement for Atomic Age nylon stockings.

Will British Labor Remain in Power?

By VERA BRITTAIN*

IN JULY, 1945, the longest Parliament in British history came to an end with the conclusion of war in Europe. Apart from two brief periods of minority Labor Government, the Party which dominated that Long Parliament had been in office for twenty-three years. During the concluding period of its final decade, the Government had been called "National," but though Clement Attlee was Deputy Prime Minister, Herbert Morrison Home Secretary, and Ernest Bevin held the key position of Minister of Labor, the voice and policy of that Government were Winston Churchill's.

After the dissolution of Parliament, the once Liberal Churchill aligned himself with the Conservative Party machine, and became associated with its noisy and ill-judged propaganda. He probably shared the astonishment of most Englishmen and all Americans when Britain swung to the Left and the National Government went out in a landslide. This landslide was one of the most spectacular in British political history, for the Labor Party not only had a majority for the first time, but a majority which had seldom been surpassed in Parliamentary records.

It was natural that the American people should be apprehensive and bewildered, for many of them still confuse socialism with communism, and do not realize that the victory of British Labor meant encouragement for moderate progressive parties, struggling against totalitarianism all over Europe. It is equally natural that today, with their eyes on international relations during the next ten years, they should be asking the question: "Is British Labor likely to remain in power, or will the Tory Party come back at the next general election four years hence?"

The prospect of transitoriness or relative permanence for any political party is closely related to the reasons for its election to power. If these involve only trivial questions of party competition, the swing of the pendulum is likely to come soon, and the life of a government may well be limited to the period between general elections. In Britain, except during times of national crisis such as war, the Quinquennial Act limits this period to five years at most. But if, on the other hand, a party owes its victory to the operation of historic factors or to some profound change in national psychology, its period of government is likely to be long.

The War Changed Britain

During six years of war, one tremendous fact altered the British people as nothing altered them during World War I. Those who believed that 1945 would repeat 1919 in putting the war party back into power, strangely forgot that British civilians, who physically came almost unscathed out of the War of 1914, had in most parts of England been the perpetual targets of 1939-45. This time the battle had not been fought vicariously for them by their sons on the scarred fields of Europe: war had come to their own homes and familiar streets. They knew its meaning at first hand; they understood what the morning and evening parades of Allied heavy bombers flying toward Germany were going

out to do. Having experienced acute shortages and stood in food queues, they also realized what the British blockade meant to the mothers and children of starving Europe.

After years of injunctions to "Shut Up," and of lurid posters depicting naval or aerial disasters labeled "They Talked—This Happened," the British people kept their reactions to this knowledge to themselves. But it was responsible for the whispered murmurs in cafes or railway carriages—"It's not right . . . we're all the same . . . there's room in the world for everyone—" when the bombers roared overhead or the newspapers reported that the infant death rate in an occupied country had gone up by ten or twenty per cent.

The vote which put Labor into office and power was thus not primarily a vote for socialism; it was a vote for peace. Instinctively rather than consciously the voters remembered that the Party had once been led by George Lansbury; that Herbert Morrison (now Lord President of the Council), Arthur Creech-Jones (now Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies) and Philip Noel-Baker (now Minister of State attached to the Foreign Office), had been conscientious objectors during the First World War (though they had repudiated pacifism in the Second), and would at least understand the aspirations of those who longed to abolish war. Though all three ex-CO's had been members of the National Government, it was believed—I think rightly—that they and their colleagues would try to pursue policies which at least would not make peace impossible.

Meaning of the Vote

Because the Labor Government's majority was a vote for peace, it was therefore a vote against Churchill and the old order which Churchill represented. This vote did not mean, as so many Americans supposed, any lack of understanding or appreciation of the fact that Churchill expressed, rather than created, the British determination to resist in 1940. It did mean a realization that Churchill the strategist, who could not be turned from waging his personal war against Hitler to reconsider the blind policies of starvation-blockade, massacre-bombing, and unconditional surrender, was not the right leader for a period of reconstruction. The British people were tired of strategists and fuhrers, for whom "victory" was the be-all and end-all of existence, and who did not even perceive the significant new forces arising out of resistance movements all over Europe.

They wanted, instead, men and women with constructive plans for health, housing, education, and full employment. Above all, they desired a new outlook on international relations. They did not forget that for twenty years the Tory policy of weak provocation, which yielded to Hitler what it had refused to Stresemann and Brüning, had been a main factor in Europe's drift toward World War II. They remembered subconsciously, if not actually, the bitter protest made on behalf of the youth of World War I by T. E. Lawrence in his *Seven Pillars of Wisdom*:

"When we achieved and the new world dawned, the old men came out again and took from us our victory, and remade it in the likeness of the former world they

* Author of *Humiliation With Honor, Massacre by Bombing, England's Hour*, etc.

knew. Youth could win, but had not learned to keep, and was pitifully weak against age. We stammered that we had worked for a new heaven and a new earth, and they thanked us kindly and made their peace."

The people of Britain, whose homes had been destroyed and neighbors killed before their eyes, were not in a mood to make that mistake a second time. However humble, inexperienced, and unspectacular the alternative, they were not going to have the old men and the old policies again.

Will Stay in Power

Because the new policies are what Britain wants yet must take long to achieve, I believe that Labor will remain in power for many years. The British people, used to a condition of freedom which broadens down, in Tennyson's words, "from precedent to precedent," do not make the common American error of expecting fundamental changes to occur overnight. They know that the twenty-year-old debris of Conservative misrule must take at least five years to clear away. When British troops reluctantly go to the rescue of Dutch nationals stranded in Indonesia; when a period of interim British sovereignty becomes necessary in Malaya; when the reconciliation of Arab and Jewish aspirations in Palestine reveals itself for the excruciating problem it is—the British do not mistakenly suppose that the Attlee Government is only a new name for the old imperialism. They have a long history; and they know how to be patient.

So far the British by-elections have shown undeviating support for the Government chosen in July, 1945. It is possible that the courageous policy of bread-rationing re-

cently introduced for the sake of undernourished Europe may lead to the loss of one or two such elections, for Britain, like every country, has its selfish elements which do not care who suffers so long as they benefit. But these forfeited elections will not be straws showing the main direction of the wind.

The British people will readily wait for four years for the ground to be cleared for the unimpeded exercise of democratic socialism. Then, I believe, they will re-elect their Government in the hope that the next five years will give them their chance. I doubt indeed that the old type of Tory imperialism, whose representatives now form the small official Opposition, will ever again win a majority vote in British politics. Some new form of Opposition is likely to arise at a rate which will depend upon the unknown historic factors of the next decade. Should Russia continue to dominate Europe yet begin to play a part more friendly to Britain than that of the past twelve months, the Communist Party might grow large enough to become the Opposition.

The speed of its growth—or that of some new party at present unforeseen—is likely to be determined by Labor's success or failure in carrying out the constructive side of its policy. The plan for Indian independence, the promise to evacuate Egypt, and the readiness to risk unpopularity rather than repudiate the moral obligation to help in feeding Europe, suggest that the British Labor Government is doing its conscientious best to fulfil the purpose for which it was chosen.

Origins of CPS—Another View

By HENRY GEIGER and GORDON CLOUGH

FELLOWSHIP for March printed a heavily documented article by Philip E. Jacob on the origins of Civilian Public Service, which later appeared as a pamphlet issued by the National Service Board for Religious Objectors. This article, drawing its authority from correspondence, official documents and the private diaries of persons involved, was obviously intended to settle for all time the question of responsibility for the CPS program, and more particularly, for the onerous "no-pay" feature.

Mr. Jacob's article does furnish certain dates and facts, including the general sequence of events which preceded the formal beginnings of CPS. What still may be questioned, however, are his inferences from the facts as shown. It is necessary, also, to point out for the record that Mr. Jacobs entirely neglects to discuss what might have happened had the Peace Churches of the United States, following the example of the English Quakers, refused to have anything to do with the administration of conscription.

A forgotten note of history on the latter question appeared in the news columns of *The Christian Century* for March 19, 1941:

Conscription laws in the United States are less liberal toward conscientious objectors than those in England largely because of the efforts of religious groups, a con-

ference on "Tolerance Through Education" was told at Durham, N. C., by Lewis G. Hershey, deputy director of the selective service office, Washington. Such groups, it was pointed out, sought exemption for those who had a religious background for their stand and blocked efforts to exempt those who had no religious training to support their views.

Turning to Mr. Jacob's pamphlet, we find the American Friends Service Committee quoted as saying, on Oct. 5, 1940, that it would take administrative responsibility for COs, but that the question of pay "would remain a matter between the Government and each individual conscientious objector"! Here a private religious body contemplates a legal relationship with a Government program involving the labor of thousands of men, yet refuses to interest itself in the vital question of whether these men are to be paid at all for their work! The AFSC was willing to represent their souls, but not their civil rights! The similitude of recognition of conscience was gained by church-sponsored alternative service, but its substance of equality before the law was denied and forgotten. Did the AFSC expect General Hershey to interview each CO, tenderly adjusting wages to each foible of conscience?

It is obvious that the peace churches were quite ready to jeopardize pay for conscientious objectors, if a program

with pay meant also an all-Government administration. Actually, negotiations for church control began so early and proceeded with such vigor that Government camps with pay were never seriously proposed, except as supplementary to the church program. The desire of the peace churches to run the camps was an overpowering resolve, overshadowing all other factors which shaped the CPS system.

Rejection of First Plan

Mr. Jacob recites that the first plan for CPS, proposed by the Peace Churches and approved by Dr. Dykstra, was turned down by the President. This plan involved service with church agencies without pay, with maintenance from Government, and pay for men working directly under Government agencies. Mr. Jacob then quotes Dr. Dykstra as saying that there could be only one type of service—under private agencies or under Government control, and that "in either case COs would not be paid wages." To Dr. Dykstra is attributed the view that because of the President's attitude, "the possibility of providing wages for the men was completely out of the question."

But did the Peace Church representatives ask Dr. Dykstra if he thought the President would reject an all-Government program with private's compensation for the men? Did they point out to Dr. Dykstra the political stupidity of such a decision, opening the President to charges of Nazi-like persecution of conscientious objectors? It is inconceivable that the sagacious politician then in the White House would consciously allow such a situation to develop, whatever his personal opinions or prejudices.

But if the pacifists themselves ostensibly controlled the alternative service program, such charges could hardly be raised. The projected plan for CPS had a convenient appearance of "liberality"—and it was precisely this appearance which irritated the President, not the question of pay at all.

There is not the slightest ground in Mr. Jacob's article for assuming that there could not have been an all-Government program with pay for COs. He simply describes the attempts of a group of religious pacifists to obtain what they wanted in Washington, and the compromise they accepted after certain prejudicial attitudes had developed among Government officials as a result of the negotiations.

In November, 1944, Roger Baldwin of the American Civil Liberties Union told a Los Angeles audience that except for the Peace Church lobby, the United States might have put into operation the British system of individual assignments, with pay.

With such questions as these in mind, the present writers on May 16 visited Dr. Clarence A. Dykstra in his office as Provost of the University of California at Los Angeles. Dr. Dykstra was the first Director of the Selective Service System, with whom the early negotiations for control of the alternative service program were carried on by the representatives of the Peace Churches.

The obvious issue to be considered was what would have happened to COs if the Peace Churches had not approached Selective Service officials with the proposals for the CPS program. While such questions can never be answered with finality, this interview with Dr. Dykstra, to whom responsibility for devising an all-Government program would have fallen, made it apparent that the Government was fully prepared to fulfil the requirements

of the Act. It is hardly possible that the need for a CO service program, as defined by the Act, would have been ignored. It is certain that Dr. Dykstra himself did not conceive the "alternative service" specified by law as constituting simply an opportunity to punish by discriminatory administrative regulation the men who chose to be conscientious objectors and who were able to qualify as such under the Act. It would be gratuitous to suggest such a possibility, except for the charge, occasionally made in some quarters, that unless the Peace Churches had sent emissaries to Washington, bringing offers of administrative collaboration, COs would have been confronted with the simple alternatives of Army service or prison, or exposed to the same sort of brutal treatment accorded them in the last war—or worse. Actually, a deliberately punitive program was not even remotely considered by the officials involved. Dr. Dykstra's friendly responsiveness to Peace Church representatives, who came to him as spokesmen for conscientious objectors, should be ample evidence of the good intentions of the Government at this stage of the history of CPS.

Dr. Dykstra's Attitude

This general attitude on the part of Dr. Dykstra having been ascertained by preliminary conversation, several specific questions were put to him. His answers, when arranged into a connected narrative, amount to the following statement of facts:

When Peace Church representatives came to him, offering to shoulder the entire burden of the program, provided they might enjoy administrative responsibility, it was pointed out to them by Dr. Dykstra that the Government was ready to sponsor its own alternative service program, and that the financial drain of the support of the camps might be very heavy. The Peace Churches, however, persisted in their desire to run the system and offered to finance the cost of operating the camps.

The President's opposition to the plan submitted by Dr. Dykstra on behalf of the Peace Churches was a casual objection lasting a few moments, devoted entirely to a questioning of the apparent "liberality" of the church-administration aspect of the proposed program.

President Roosevelt glanced at the plan, asked Dr. Dykstra if there was to be no "drilling," no military supervision. Informed that the plan did not involve these features, the President expressed the view that the program should receive further consideration. There was no reference to the issue of pay for conscientious objectors. At no time did the President express himself as opposed to pay in an all-Government camp program. An all-Government camp program with pay for the men was never proposed to the President.

Dr. Dykstra, acting as an intermediary between the President and the Peace Churches, later secured the President's approval for the CPS program as it was finally set up, fully convinced that he was asking for exactly what the Peace Churches wanted. He felt he was conscientiously and meticulously carrying out their wishes in proposing the plan that was finally incorporated into administrative procedure by Presidential Order.

Dr. Dykstra has read the above statement and has approved it as accurate.

The Role of the Pac



Allan Hunter,
Minister, Mt. Hollywood Congregational Church,
Author, *"White Corpuscles in Europe,"* etc.:

We need and we haven't yet got what it takes: a change of mind; fresh ways of responding to ultimate reality; a growing ability to be recharged and redirected through membership in a small group that means business. Right now our job is not to contract out of society. It is to enlist every white corpuscle out of the marrow of our bones to have society transformed.

Obviously we have to step up certain political pressures toward scrapping the war method; using technology (and perhaps fissionable materials) not as a threat of "abundant death" but as a resource for a more cooperative way of living, rationing ourselves without delay to share abroad some of our food and machinery. As a token pledge of our commitment we could do a better job of holding Stalin and men like him in the light. Our contrition might be more sincere if we helped to rebuild Hiroshima and other shattered cities.

Whether any of us will be "receivers of a bankrupt civilization" is not so important. What uranium or bacteria may do to our bodies isn't, either. The supreme question as always is whether at this instant we are training to share God's nature by personally trying to do his will as we see it without too much anxiety about the results.

Philip Selznick,
Recently with Counterintelligence of
the U. S. Army in Japan:

Who can devise a programmatic magic to retrieve the human heart? The pacifist ethic is revolutionary, barely comprehensible to the ordinary citizen; yet it must be preserved, if only as a judgment upon the world, a source of spiritual command.

Our dreams, however, will not serve as surrogates for real vehicles of action, for viable institutional tools. Pacifism may tolerate the UN, but cannot support it. The

Pacifists today face a dilemma of va
admittedly a slow, evolutionary pro
warfare looms in the immediate futu
What can we do? Twelve well-kn

UN represents an idea, a potentiality, and an avenue for specific pressures in the direction of unity. At the same time, UN is an arena for power-political strife, in its present form embroiled beyond recall in a context of force.

Pacifists may well direct a part of their attention to transforming the UN so that it may emphasize the areas of agreement among nations rather than the areas of dissent. Its pretensions might then be less, its real power greater. Pacifists could then support it. That would mean returning the major issues of national interest to unrestrained sovereignty, which is where they are anyway. In respect to those issues, pacifism can have no alternative to its present policy of urging unilateral national action in the interests of peace. The Bomb is the most obvious and pressing subject for such action.

A. J. Muste,
FOR Secretary:

Most plans for the prevention of World War III proceed on the assumption that the problem is to prevent other nations from making war on us. Thus Americans worry about the threat represented by Russian armament, and Russians worry over the U. S. threat. *Neither people sees that its own military establishment is the principal threat to its own security and that of other people.* Some nation has to see that making war is the sin, and to rise to the spiritual height of renouncing that sin and disarming. That example will create the confidence, the new atmosphere, in which alone peace can be built. FOR as a religious pacifist organization should put its principal energies into advocating such a religious pacifist—a Christian—course for the nation.

It is clear that this is asking the nation to act upon the principle that he who would save his life must be willing to lose it, and to undertake a redemptive mission based on the faith that good will, or love, is the ultimate force in the universe. I believe that there is a very real possibility that a nation which had power and renounced it in this spirit, becoming instead the "servant of all," would by God's grace open a new and blessed era in human history.

But I am certain that even if the United States should be attacked and crucified after having undertaken such a mission, it would still be better to disarm unilaterally. For if the disintegration of civilization has proceeded so far that rejection and crucifixion would be the lot of a "messianic" nation, the United States has in any case only four choices before it:

1. To be defeated and perish in an atomic war, with some other nation such as Russia the "victor."

n the Atomic Age

ns. Removing the causes of war is
threat of total destruction in atomic
all our efforts will go up in smoke.
give their answers.

2. To perish in atomic war along with the rest of the nations.

3. To emerge as the dominant power after an atomic war and to be hated beyond any nation in all history because it had destroyed civilization in order to survive.

4. To suffer terribly, and perhaps even to perish as a nation, after having undertaken a spiritual mission. No one who professes any belief in the Judaeo-Christian tradition can doubt that the ultimate verdict of God and history would be with that nation. Future generations of men would revere and love it as they have always revered and loved the pioneers, prophets, and saints.

Corbett Bishop,

Absolutist Ex-Prison CO:

Pacifists are motivated by love, not fear, and the pacifist function in the atomic age remains the same as in the stone age. Von Clausewitz defines war as the forcing or imposing of one's will upon another. Is battlefield war, though augmented by atomic terrors, separate from or less objectionable than the legalized and socialized war of "civilization"? Victims of exploitation, prejudice, poverty, vice, disease, and ignorance differ little from those of the battlefield.

The pacifist's functioning life can be as short as the militarist's in the atomic age. To wrestle out the insincerities of our lives utterly seems the most difficult and important assignment to man. Hearts attuned to peace can attune others. Threats of disintegration by misuse of atomic power shall not, must not, cannot deter the pacifist.

Charles F. Boss,

Exec. Sec'y, Methodist World Peace Commission:

Pacifists are no longer alone in the utter condemnation of war. Never were so many persons of different faiths and philosophies so completely convinced that *all* war must go. Wherein, then, lies the specific contribution of Christian pacifists to the problem of survival posed by atomic energy?

One: The Christian pacifist makes a distinctive contribution in his teaching about God and Jesus. He teaches that the character of God is ethical love relying upon the redemptive method of non-violent suffering to express mercy, grace, forgiveness and salvation as exemplified in the Cross.

Two: The pacifist adheres to the conviction that the relation of ends to means is final; the means of war *do not* result in the end of the kingdom of God.

Three: The pacifist teaches the irreconcilability of war

(Continued on next page)

Readers' Points of View

(Space limitations permit publication of only a portion of the many letters received from readers of FELLOWSHIP.)

Peace lovers should not waste too much time on humanitarian projects designed to save only a few million lives. Put first things first! Educate and organize for world government now! If we fail to halt the Big War, none of our little efforts to better the lot of a few will have any meaning.

TRUMAN KIRKPATRICK
Chicago, Illinois

The great message of Christian pacifists is not, I believe, that "Christian pacifism will get results!" but is rather that "There is a Father God and He is present!" Although we have faith that Christian pacifism will work, will move mountains, yet we are certain only of God. Our actions should demonstrate that certainty most clearly, even though we may go down in starvation, persecution, and atomic obliteration.

FRANCIS D. HOLE
Madison, Wisconsin

Our task is to dare to live cooperatively, in defiance of the lingering but crumbling competitive order, which has nonetheless always held within it the seed of a cooperative order. The crisis of the hour hinges on the fate of that seed, whether it grow and break its shell, or be stifled and die. With our friends we should work with the UN because it is here to work with. With them we should try to go beyond to world government because it seems to open a path to peace. But we must also be ready to meet failure, to go "underground," to keep a light through Dark Ages.

WALTER ROYAL JONES, JR.
Barnstable, Massachusetts

A substantial part of the pacifist effort must be directed toward the creation of a world state, world government, and world community. It appears even more important, however, that the inward eye be fully aware. Let us not be ensnared by the huge and the external. The root of this supreme crisis is the belief that the only reality is that of the senses. All of our values and actions are grounded upon this ontological fallacy. Our ethical integration must be about Love, which is the essence of God.

HERBERT F. VETTER, JR.
Chicago, Illinois

God has not given us of the FOR the spirit of fear, but of power and of love. Now that we, like the goats at Bikini, have seen the abomination of desolation, it is for us to demonstrate that the only infinitely "fissionable substance," with power greater than that of plutonium or uranium, is love.

PARK J. WHITE
St. Louis, Missouri

"Ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free," both guides and encourages pacifists. The truth about war will free humanity from war, for the taproot of war is the mistaken but practically universal belief that war is sometimes necessary. Enlightenment will dig out that taproot, and enlightenment can be

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with the spirit and teachings of Jesus, and with the constitutional principles and demands of the kingdom of God as presented in the Sermon on the Mount.

Four: The Christian pacifist recognizes the relative factors in any situation of history in relation to absolute ideals which require slow progress toward, rather than immediate attainment of ideals. He insists that war is of such irreconcilable nature with Christian ideals that it does *not* advance man or society along the axis toward these ideals, but constitutes a diversion from them and an obstacle to their attainment.

Evan W. Thomas,

National Chairman, War Resisters League:

The bomb does not alter our job in any way. War becomes more horrible with progress in mechanical weapons. It does not change principles of conduct.

John Nevin Sayre,

Co-Chairman, International FOR

Pacifism, for me, stems out of Christ's insight into the character of God, the nature of man, the coherence of society and overcoming evil (including aggression) by the way of the Cross. This pacifism calls upon me to renounce participation in war at all points where I am able, to refuse to manufacture munitions or enter the army or military chaplaincy, to put no trust in any use of armament, but to urge instead that men arm themselves with the mind of Christ and hazard life and fortune as disciples in his ministry of reconciling love. I believe that the primary task and historic mission of the Fellowship of Reconciliation is to seek with missionary zeal to convert individual Christians and the churches to this view of things. The atomic bomb makes it more, and not less important.

But the bomb has also laid on us a new obligation: prompt and extensive cooperation with non-pacifists in waging an educational campaign for national adoption of the idea of world law and government strictly limiting the use of force to restraint of *individuals* (not nations) by *police* (not armies, navies or bombs) operating under *law* and judicial process. At the same time, international agreements of binding character must be entered into directed toward the prompt abolition of national military establishments.

This program is less than full pacifist Christianity and should not absorb the Fellowship's attention to the point of deflecting us from our primary mission. But the political measures proposed go a long way in the direction of our objectives and are the only policy which I think has the ghost of a chance of being accepted by governments and non-pacifists in time to head off the atomic war which impends. Pacifists cannot stop this war by themselves nor keep out of its destruction.

Aldous Huxley,

Author "Ends and Means," etc., etc.:

At the moment I don't feel I have anything of significance to contribute to the symposium, as I simply don't know what the best course is. One thinks a great deal about the problem and finds no issue anywhere, for the

good reason that, though with the top of their mind people don't wish to be destroyed, on the deeper levels they seem determined not to give up the modes of thought and feeling that make war, which now means destruction, inevitable.

Mulford Sibley,

Dep't Political Science, U. of Illinois,

Author, "Political Theories of Modern Pacifism":

The atomic bomb crisis highlights the notorious absence of political consciousness within the pacifist movement. Admittedly, individual war objection is of great importance; but we must realize its serious limitations unless it is coupled with political organization and an awareness of the nature of modern politics.

Pacifists must see that only a radical political solution can create the world community which we seek. It must be a socialist community—one in which the instrumentalities of production and distribution are publicly owned and democratically controlled for egalitarian goals—and the attainment of such a community requires active and unremitting support of a political party which has specifically socialist ends. All pacifists should become active members of the Socialist Party and marry its socialist ideals to the dynamic of revolutionary pacifism and concerted war resistance.

The United Nations is essentially a military alliance which encourages war. In its place should be erected an organization which acts directly on individuals and provides for universal disarmament. But this solution is unlikely except in the context of an expanding world-wide socialist-pacifist political movement which understands that the only realism in these times is to build a world order *outside* the framework of existing governments, not to act through those governments.

This is not an easy task. The chances are that we shall fail. But we shall have made the effort. Let us not retire to our monasteries and deserts prematurely; that necessity will probably come, unfortunately, all too soon.

M. R. Zigler,

Exec. Sec'y, Brethren Service Committee:

We must never lose sight of the fact that the atom bomb is only a *means* of war. Its purpose is no less nor no more despicable and evil than any of the other means of war.

The enemy of mankind is not the atom bomb or any other means of warfare, but the *idea* of employing war to adjust relationships between groups of people. It is the *idea* of war that must be cast out of the minds of men, rather than the atom bomb that must be cast out of the world.

There are two modes of behavior that we must study and extend:

(1) We no longer seriously entertain the idea of arming and making war upon other groups within our country. We have established orderly processes for adjusting differences (albeit they are not often as just and Christian as we desire). But to extend that concept and practice to the world community must be our immediate goal.

(2) Some men no longer entertain the idea of war upon other groups, not so much because there are other estab-

lished means of handling difficulties, but because they have gained an appreciation for the concept of the Brotherhood of Man. To extend that idea into the minds and practice of all men must be our ultimate goal.

Both tasks await us. Both need our immediate and best efforts now.

Clarence E. Pickett,

Exec. Sec'y, American Friends Service Committee:

If civilization is wiped off the map, it will not be by the bomb. It will be from the inter-corruption of men's minds and hearts. The function of the Christian group is, and always has been, primarily to foster and nourish the small committed group of devoted, dedicated spirits who do their best to go the whole way in living out the Christian testimony in every phase of life. That continues to be the most important thing of all. If the pacifist deserts that and tries to effect a course of events simply by political activities, he has lost his usefulness. On the other hand I believe that the dedicated Christian must use all of his powers and faculties to set up workable relations between nations on a legal basis, because there is no doubt that this is a part of the problem, and perhaps a major part, of the development of a new world in which the life of the spirit can grow.

Wallace Hamilton,

Author, "Clash by Night"; ex-CPS:

Assumption one: Pacifists haven't the wildest outside chance of making a "social organization of conscientious objection" in the next couple of decades. Assumption two: UN—or any foreseeable alternative—has no more similarity to government than a small band of cutthroats gathered in a cave.

If there is any hope for a human organization built on non-violent foundations, that hope rests far outside the present "power spheres," i. e., the United States, Britain and the Soviet Union. The ruling oligarchies of these power spheres hold overwhelming brute force in their hands—tanks, battleships, atomic bombs, the whole pomp and circumstance of organized butchery. If the Big Three are smart, international control of atomic energy ought to be forthcoming very shortly so that no small nation will be able to upset the applecart with nuclear fission.

All of which will leave the "dependent peoples," the world's small fry, with precious few violent means of challenging the existing power system. Yet in the very course of events, that power system inevitably will be challenged. How?

U. S. pacifists must do what they can to help find the "how," to give every possible support to the complex foment of non-violence that stirs and occasionally boils over in such oddly assorted places as India, Salvador, Nigeria, and—conceivably—Palestine.

If atomic war comes, the "power spheres" will be powerful no longer. We will have lived by the sword. But perhaps no one will bother to atomize such weak and irrelevant places as India, Salvador, Nigeria. Perhaps those "backward" peoples may have found the beginnings of a pattern of human relations that works.

Readers' Points of View

(Continued from page 149)

speeded indefinitely. The atomic bomb admonishes pacifists: "Spread the truth! Hasten!"

HENRY W. PINKHAM
Dorchester, Massachusetts

The UN is a political compromise between the isolationism of the past and the one-worldness of the present. Peace cannot long last with mere compromise. Pacifism does not compromise. A pacifist sees a certain need, and nothing short of that should suffice. Either world government now, or catastrophe.

BENJAMIN A. BENEDICT
Sturgis, Michigan

World Government, the UN, or economics are not in our territory. Government is founded on force, and trade on competition.

To use our strength to the utmost we should dedicate ourselves to gain understanding of and fellowship with human beings as individuals, and with promising organizations anywhere. We must go below surface to realize that we are all fundamentally of a piece and thus start a chain reaction of human unity.

ALTHEA SOMERVILLE GROSSMAN
St. Louis, Missouri

We must have faith, not just in our own human bodies and intelligence, but in the force which we like to call Love, that is in and throughout the world, and which can do wonders beyond our imagination if we will but let it work through us.

JOE ALTER
New Wilmington, Pennsylvania

While there is still time, let us add our strength to the numbers who are already promoting world government and thereby support the only proven method of creating a warless geographical unit.

NANCY KELLEY
Winchester, Massachusetts

The long-range need is, as always, to eliminate the roots of war and to develop the spiritual community of mankind into a brotherhood of man under the acknowledged Fatherhood of God. But this is a very, very long-range project, and in the meantime it is the duty of every pacifist to support the one and only method by which humanity can be kept from committing suicide: world government!

PAUL A. SCHILPP
Evanston, Illinois

If we believe that nations and individuals reap what they sow, it seems to me it follows that the seeds we are now sowing *will* inevitably bring another war. I do not believe there is enough time to prevent World War III.

While it is necessary to spread the gospel of pacifism to the masses of people, our main job is to develop a small group of pacifists who will be able to offer individual non-violent resistance to war and conscription. Such methods cannot prevent war, but they present the only way I know of which will preserve the ideals of love and good will in spite of any catastrophe that may come.

LARRY GARA,
Oskaloosa, Iowa

Food Lack Continues; Starvation Reported in Europe and Asia

In the face of growing accusations that food has become "the basic means to world power" and of sign of breakdown in government feeding programs, private relief agencies stepped up their efforts to enlarge services to the starving millions in Europe and Asia.

British Quakers appealed for increased sharing of food, asserting that while "the people of Britain are on an average eating the energy-equivalent of 95 per cent of their prewar food," that amount appears to be "more than UNRRA estimates is necessary to maintain health." They pointed out that most European countries are below UNRRA's health level, that in Poland and Germany "many people are actually starving," and that starvation is widespread in India and China. Simultaneously American radio announcers repeatedly and with a note of pride quoted government officials as assuring the American people that we are eating 14 per cent more food than before the war!

One cause of the critical situation in UNRRA's grain shipments was highlighted in figures revealing that while surplus grain stocks were being gradually exhausted throughout the world, wheat acreage in some of the leading wheat-producing countries had been reduced: in Canada by 2.5 million acres, in the United States by 10.2 millions, in Australia by 3.75 millions, and in Argentina by 7.1 millions.

Professor J. R. Marrack, speaking to the London National Peace Council in June, attributed part of the grain shortage to the oversupply of livestock being kept on farms in the United States. "Altogether," he said, "there is something like 30,000,000 more livestock in the United States than before the war—and remember each one is eating more than a man does!" He asserted that 150 million people could be fed 1,500 calories a day with slightly more than 3 per cent of the grain used to feed these livestock.

FELLOWSHIP readers in the United States desiring to send food, medicine or clothing to persons in Europe can ship packages direct to every country, excepting only the city of Berlin (all zones) and the Russian zone of Germany. Packages must comply with postal regulations which can be obtained at local offices. The FOR Parcels Program, 320 North Charles St., Baltimore 1, Md., will gladly send names and addresses to persons not having acquaintances in Europe. Mrs. Emily Parker Simon, in charge of this work, reported that while the way had not yet opened for shipments to Japan and certain parts of Germany, it is hoped that this will be possible soon.

Persons preferring to make contri-

butions in money to agencies carrying on relief in Europe and Asia can do so through any of the following:

WAR VICTIMS FUND, Fellowship of Reconciliation, 2929 Broadway, New York 25, N. Y. See inside back cover, July FELLOWSHIP, for work being done through the Fund.

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE, 20 South Twelfth St., Philadelphia 7, Pa.

BRETHREN SERVICE COMMITTEE, 22 South State St., Elgin, Ill.

CHURCH WORLD SERVICE, 37 East 36th St., New York 16, N. Y.

CARAVAN OF EAST AND WEST, INC., 132 East 65th St., New York 21, N. Y.

Food packages can be purchased and sent through the Cooperative for American Remittances to Europe (CARE), 50 Broad St., New York 4, N. Y., to designated persons in countries open for direct mailing, also to the American and British zones of Berlin and to the British zone of Germany outside Berlin. The Maritime Sales and Service Corp., 317 West 45th St., New York, N. Y., offers similar service covering all parts of Germany with the one exception of the Russian zone of Germany outside Berlin. The necessary blanks for shipment of food under these two plans can be secured from the agencies.

Leaders Urge Church to End Race Segregation

"Segregation as practiced in America has more effect on racial opinions and the development of racial attitudes than all the formal preaching in our schools about democracy or in our churches about Christian brotherhood. We cannot teach something we do not practice." This statement by Dr. Mark A. Dawber, Home Missions Council executive, to a group of church and mission executives took on particular significance late in July when news of four lynchings in Georgia shocked the nation.

Leaders of other religious and humanitarian groups uttered similar words of warning during the summer. Richard T. Baker, assistant editor of *World Outlook* and recent war correspondent, told 700 ex-servicemen attending the Methodist Bishops' Conference with Returned Veterans: "The American prejudice that we carried with us was a frightful thing. It locked our minds securely against learning the very things the war was being fought for."

Amnesty Box-Score

Tokyo, Japan—957,000 political prisoners granted general amnesty in October 1945.

New Delhi, India—50,000 Indians who took up arms against the United Nations received full amnesty in August 1945.

Moscow, Russia—Mass amnesty granted to transport workers imprisoned for collaboration in June 1946. Russia had already freed "all war-time offenders with three years or less and reduced sentences of all political prisoners."

London, England—George Bernard Shaw, Bertrand Russell, Arthur Koestler, T. S. Eliot, Laurence Housman, and other leading Britishers petition President Truman to release American conscientious objectors. (Britain has released all but 26 COs as compared with America's 2,100 still in prison.)

Washington, D. C.—"The capital of the land of the free has nothing to report."

—Condensed from BSC Bulletin.

Committee Appeals for COs' Education Fund

Released COs are now on their way back to college after five payless years, and with no GI Bill of Rights for educational assistance. They are doing all they can to help themselves, by means of scholarships, part-time jobs, and loans from friends, but in almost all instances there is still a deficit of two, three, or four hundred dollars in a year's academic budget. That deficit, the Committee on Educational Aid has been set up to meet.

The Committee on Educational Aid, under the leadership of Dr. Frank Graham of the University of North Carolina, has been established with offices at 252 Fulton St., Brooklyn 1, N. Y., to help all COs wanting further education who are not being aided by the Peace Church educational programs, and particularly those men who have been in government camp and prison during the war. Right now, in September, the Committee is meeting the first big influx of requests for financial assistance.

Of the CEA, Milton Mayer has written in *The Progressive*:

"Unlike all the other committees that want your money, the Committee on Educational Aid has no heart-rending appeal.

"Everybody is against cancer. Everybody is in favor of India. But who cares about the scurrilous slackers who would not even kill their fellow-men to preserve the priceless heritage of human slaughter?"

Fellowship

CPS Strikers Wait Hearings; Public Figures Aid Defense

As the Glendora CPS strike went into its ninety-third day the score read: forty-seven men indicted; arraignment and plea for the first twenty postponed from July 8 to July 22, in order to handle all cases at the same time; consideration of a motion for dismissal of the cases by A. L. Wirin, ACLU attorney for the defense, postponed until August 5 at the request of William P. Haughton, prosecuting attorney; arraignment and plea for forty-five men postponed until August 5; trial date of Edward Behre and John Atherton postponed until September 17; trial for the six Big Flats men set for August 13; ten Cascade Locks' strikers ordered to transfer to Minersville.

The base camp at Dalton became virtually a "strike camp" July 12, when all the working men except the Molokans were transferred to the Tanbark side camp. Left in the hands of O. D. Brehm, camp director, a few foremen and the Forest Service camp manager, the remaining campers organized a small "commonwealth" with a volunteer arrangement for cooking, described by one of the men as "better than before."

Work continued on the food packing project by which strikers have sent 9,779 pounds of food to 153 needy families in seven European countries, and work began on packages for Germany and Finland.

False information concerning the strike continued to come through Selective Service, according to the July 26 issue of *Strike News*, and was exposed by the strikers in the interest of bringing about a clarification of the men's relationships with Selective Service. "For example," the bulletin said, "Hershey has said that the strikers refused to meet with the camp director to discuss or to negotiate. The truth is, however, that the strikers sent a daily delegation to see O. D. Brehman, the camp director, for the purpose of negotiation, and an audience was consistently denied." The men claimed that the only answer came in vague threats of prosecution, and eventually in arrests.

Meanwhile members of the Congregational-Christian church, meeting in General Council's biennial at Grinnell, Ia., adopted a strong statement in resolutions relating to conscientious objectors. The churchmen called attention to the fact that the Selective Service Law stipulates that work done by COs shall be "under civilian direction," and that Public Law No. 630 implies that "such amounts as may be necessary shall be available . . . for the pay and allowances of such individuals (conscientious objectors) at

rates not in excess of those paid to persons inducted into the army."

They noted that men in Glendora and Big Flats, convinced that these stipulations are being violated in the administration of camps, felt it necessary to protest against such injustice by refusing to work without pay, dependency allotments, accident compensation, adequate demobilization plans, and "with a major general and other officers of the army exercising arbitrary control over them." The Congregationalists further noted that the Department of Justice responded to strikers' protests with mass arrests, and they placed the Council on record as urging prompt and impartial investigation of "the meaning and administration of the Government's treatment of conscientious objectors, especially those in Civilian Public Service Camps," urging that they be put "unequivocally under civilian control" as provided by the law, and that injustices noted above be eliminated.

British MP's Seek End to Conscription

Led by Rhys Davies, outspoken pacifist leader in Parliament, 90 Labor MPs sponsored a motion calling on the Government "to end conscription as soon as possible" and succeeded in having it put down for discussion in the House of Commons. Conservatives and Communists support permanent conscription, Mr. Davies said, but the Labor Party had not yet declared itself. In the Party's conference Arthur Greenwood, member of the Cabinet and prominent Labor leader, said "he hoped never again to have to perform the mental gymnastics necessary when the Labor Party reluctantly accepted conscription in September 1939."

Will to Latin America

Herman Will received his release from the Big Flats CPS camp late in July and on August 2 flew from Chicago to Cuba, first stop in a two-months visit to Latin American countries for the International Fellowship of Reconciliation. In Cuba he attended two conferences of Latin American Evangelical youth, one of which included delegations from all parts of the hemisphere. Flying to Mexico City August 20, he planned to meet with church, school, civic and Fellowship groups in nine Mexican cities, returning to the United States late in September.

Jottings

The Congregational-Christian Pacifist Fellowship, organized at General Council meeting in Grinnell, Ia., elected the following to office: Allan K. Chalmers, national chairman; Carl H. Kopf, Allan A. Hunter and James C. Mead, vice chairmen; Alfred Schmalz, secretary; Gerhard Blombach, treasurer; Albert W. Palmer, Ruth I. Seabury, William J. Falkner and Paul Reynolds, members at large.

* * *

Demobilization of CPS up to July 12, 1946 left 2,406 men in camps and units. Men completing twenty months by August 31 will be discharged in September, and after October 1 eligibility will be based on the eighteen-months requirement for men conscripted into military service under draft extension.

* * *

Lawrence and Viola Scott, active in FOR work, have moved into Fellowship House, 1462 Independence Ave., Kansas City, Mo., as resident directors of this project which is sponsored jointly by the Penn Valley Meeting of Friends, the FOR, the Committee on the Practice of Democracy, and the NAACP.

* * *

The United States Circuit Court of Appeals has ruled that a conscientious objector does not approve of military service by taking the usual oath to support and defend the Constitution.

* * *

Kirkbridge, an experiment in Christian living, has an opening for one or two CPS men needing to renew their perspective on the future. Work covers maintenance or additional cash salary. Skills with tools needed. Write Joseph E. Platt, Kirkbridge, Bangor, Pa.

* * *

The Yellow Springs News, in Ohio, has an opening for a linotype operator —\$35-\$50 weekly, depending on experience.

* * *

George Houser, who has directed the FOR's Action Projects Office in Cleveland, has moved to New York Headquarters as Racial and Industrial Secretary.

* * *

A co-op homesteading group, within commuting distance of New York City, seeks congenial members. Write in care of FELLOWSHIP.

1946 Peace Roll Call

Urgent need in Europe and Asia calls for particular emphasis on the Peace Roll Call this year.
Plans to be announced soon

The Peacemaker's Bookshelf

Now Is the Time

Now Is the Time to Prevent a Third World War, by Kirby Page. 1946. Paper cover, 123 pp., \$1.00; cloth, 361 pp., \$2.50.

Replies to a questionnaire circulated to a thousand FOR members some fifteen years ago, asking what books had influenced them most in the direction of Christian pacifism, put the New Testament first and the writings of Kirby Page next. Now Mr. Page has written a new tract—this one for the atomic age—which I do not hesitate to say ought to be read and discussed this winter by every FOR study group that is concerned to prevent a third world war. I know of no other book which so comprehensively and concisely gathers together the factual and persuasive information on which pacifists can base their arguments for recruiting individuals and leavening opinion of the churches.

The recurrent theme of the writer is that "the only defense against the ravages of atomic war is the prevention of that war through mutual aid in the solution of common problems under a reign of international law functioning through appropriate agencies of world government undergirded by mutual understanding and mutual confidence."

There are three extremely valuable background chapters on "The Origins of the First World War," "The Origins of World War II" and "The Outbreak of War in the Pacific," all of which show clearly how American liberals and church people were misled and confused by the propaganda of World War II exactly as they were by that of World War I.

Additional evidence for such a view is cited in a rapid resumé of the shameful record of the churches in supporting specific wars for sixteen hundred years, not only the Crusades and religious wars, but wars of the nations in which they were situated. Mr. Page quotes the judgment of W. E. H. Lecky in his *History of European Morals* that "We may look in vain for any period since Constantine, in which the clergy, as a body, exerted themselves to repress the military spirit, or to prevent or abridge a particular war. . . . With the exception of Mohammedanism, no other religion has done so much to produce war as was done by the religious teachers of Christendom during several centuries."

In spite of the churches' belligerent record, the author finds that a momentous turning point occurred after the end of the First World War. Pacifism among the churches, although not sufficiently advanced to prevent World War II, did not become discredited. And Kirby Page, who repeatedly toured the country as a speaker from coast to coast throughout the war, now says:

"I confidently predict that within twenty years Christian pacifism will be acknowledged by a substantial majority of ministers as the orthodox Christian position."

However, Mr. Page's book is not an invitation to wishful thinking. His masterly chapter on the "Imperatives of World Peace" faces all the big obstacles: relations between the United States and Russia, nationalism, misconceptions about collective security, weaknesses of UN, economic and racial injustice, imperialism, armaments and the military mind, and the problem of winning Germany and Japan and saving them, with other depressed areas, from starvation and embitterment. The chapter closes with eighteen "next steps for every man" in answer to the question, "What Can I Do?"

The concluding chapter summons men to faith in the power of God in our atomic age: "We must love God and do right; we must do right and trust God. We must live as good members of our Father's home, run the risks, take the consequences, and leave the outcome in the hands of God. Now is the time to prevent a third world war."

JOHN NEVIN SAYRE.

Thoreau in Fiction

Two Rivers Meet in Concord, by T. Morris Longstreth. Westminster, 1946. 286 pp. \$2.50.

Jim Minot, created by this author and set down in New England in the era of its "flowering," knew most of that famous crowd: the Emersons, the Alcotts, Margaret Fuller, Henry Thoreau. Except for the last named, however, these historical characters merely lend atmosphere and local color to the story. But young Henry Thoreau is an integral part of Jim's life. The author has made him so attractive that it's easy to understand how he got away with his eccentricities. The picture of the young Thoreau experimenting, thinking his way along, burning with indignation over injustice, is not soon forgotten.

Moreover the story itself has a good plot with plenty of action, what with Henry's civil disobedience, Jim's growing up and falling in love, and the adventures with the Underground. The members of the Minot family are well drawn: a lovable bookish father, a bitter, socially ambitious mother, a fiery sister and her turbulent husband; also Jim himself.

RUTH M. MOORE.

Portrait of a Pilgrim, by Buell G. Gallagher. Friendship Press, 1946. 184 pp. Cloth, \$1.00; paper, \$60.

Timothy O'Hara, minister of an average church in an average mid-western industrial city, accepted the challenge of a prominent layman in the church to prove his sermon statement that "a white man can be a Christian in race relations," in this story told by Dr. Gallagher, an FOR member. A fresh and provocative treatment of the "race problem" that should be especially valuable with young people.

A Search for Unity, by John U. Nef. Human Events Pamphlet, 1946. 24 pp. \$25.

A professor of Economic History at the University of Chicago sees as the only foundation of world community the cultivation of the side of man's nature which has been most neglected—the spiritual. If even a few of the world's two billion people "were willing to forsake themselves, their groups and nations for the sake of charity and love . . . this might conceivably tilt the balance to the side of preservation." Dr. Nef, who is a member of the Fellowship, warns that this kind of action does not bring medals or prizes. "The Inventor of the method was crucified nearly two thousand years ago."

Men and Hunger, by Harold Steere Guetzkow and Paul Hoover Bowman. Brethren Publishing House, 1946. 72 pp. \$1.00.

A relief workers' manual in which two professional observers record the psychological effects of semi-starvation as experienced by thirty-six conscientious objectors who voluntarily endured the ordeal of semistarvation for six months. Illustrated with drawings, graphs and photographs of various phases of the experiment.

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Weaknesses of "Slowdown"

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

There are some serious questions to be raised concerning the slowdown theory described by Herbert Wehrly in "Conscription Slows Down." It will be sufficient to examine two of them here: (1) What is the ultimate aim of the slowdown tactic? (2) If the aim is judged to be inadequate what evidence is there that this has affected the means?

Believers in the slowdown tactic seem primarily concerned with rendering inoperative the machinery of conscription, as COs experience it. This aim appears inadequate and short-run, confining itself to symptoms. To concentrate upon impairing the operation of conscription ignores basic causes, which lie in the quality of the lives of individual citizens, and in the conditions of corporate life—egoistic, exploitative, exclusive, and discriminatory—that are built upon the convictions, attitudes, and habit patterns of individuals.

The slowdown begins with an amalgam of moral suasion and an appeal to numbers in order to "put pressure" upon government officials and win over public opinion. As it proceeds it becomes increasingly difficult for an objective observer to distinguish between its means and those of any other organized pressure group concerned with "putting over" its ends. It seems clear that when persons are engaged in exploiting and encouraging attitudes of defiance, rebellion, and unrest, they can hardly expect much more than purely destructive results, despite the fact that there is much evil and social injustice apparent in the structure they seek to destroy. There is an organic and direct relationship between aim and methods, vision and means, attitudes and resulting conduct, which cannot be ignored, even by those who would practice "non-violence," if the highest goal is to be realistically sought.

If it is valid to say that the slowdown lacks an ultimate aim beyond the negative one of paralyzing the operation of conscription within CPS, what evidence is there that this fact has affected the means and the wielders of the means? George Baird, in a previous FELLOWSHIP article ("Experiment in Conscription," March, 1945) summarizes the Lapine slowdown experience in part as follows:

"We didn't like it and a great many of us have refused to continue it as a program because it was too internally degrading, for the small effect it was having in the right direction."

Is it possible that the failures in "maintaining non-violence in the emotional field," acknowledged by Wehrly, are partly attributable to the fact that many men possess no basic grasp of what they are doing and why? When one concentrates upon the evils and injustices (and they are real) being perpetrated by others, either upon oneself or upon neutral parties, sooner or later one begins to lose perspective and to assimilate, consciously or unconsciously, portions of the adversary's psychology and methods. This has been a major criticism of the Allies' policy during the war, whose accuracy has been painfully evident, first in the adoption and condoning of saturation and area bombing, and then in the final recourse to atom bombing in the Japanese war. On a smaller scale this proposition seems to have been borne out in CPS, where administrative injustice and arbitrariness have been met in-

Readers are invited to contribute to this page. Please keep letters brief, since space is severely limited.

creasingly with rebellion, protest, and defiant opposition, accompanied in many cases by marked personality clashes.

The fundamental difficulty is that an injurious evil principle cannot be conquered by protest and negative indictment. Triumph over conscription requires the embodiment of an idea in the lives of men which is at once truer and greater, an idea more accurately founded upon the facts of man's nature and of reality than the conscription idea. It follows logically that pacifists cannot serve the cause of truth or win followers to their cause by making themselves out as "casualties" and by repeating endless variants on the theme of "Look what it's doing to us." In the long run we don't want pity; we want a clear knowledge of our purpose in life, the building of the kingdom of God, and courage to do what He requires of us. Perhaps we may deserve followers, perhaps not; but to paraphrase Gandhi, "It is not given to us to command success; that lies in the hands of God."

RUSS FREEMAN

On Prisons and Reform

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

Caleb Foote writes in a long and honorable tradition in his article "Prison Is Revenge" in the May FELLOWSHIP.

As one who is serving in the field of prison administration, I know that conditions are not only as bad as he has described, but in many places a great deal worse. But progress will not be made by critical polemic alone. We have volumes of impressive testimony concerning the inadequacy of the old. What we need is equally concerned support for the new.

Prison is only a part of a larger correctional process, including the broad preventive services, the police, probation departments, courts, legal aid societies, parole boards, and so on. The prison is bound to reflect the inadequacies of the entire process. The best prison could not serve its most constructive function if it operated within a correctional structure which was hostile to it. The overhauling job that needs to be done is a major operation and runs counter to many community attitudes, established practices, and vested interest in stone and steel.

For those who mean to translate their concern into purposeful action there are several immediate issues which are crying for attention. In concrete terms, here are a few:

1. Take the sentencing power out of the

courts and place it in the hands of a correctional authority composed of professional men with appropriate training.

2. Interest state and federal legislatures in raising the qualifications and pay of all grades of prison service with insistence on merit examination for every position.

3. Wherever postwar public building programs call for prison construction, insist upon housing prisoners in an institution of the outside-room type rather than the Auburn type cell-block so familiar to Grade-B moviegoers.

4. Liberalize the indeterminate sentence and place release authority with appropriate discretion in the hands of competent professional persons.

5. Work for the closing of most county jails in favor of regional institutions in the larger states and the use of state facilities in smaller states.

6. Insist upon more adequate appropriations for expanding the professional services within the institution, along the lines of Rhode Island's efforts in that direction.

7. Support a graded custody program for prisoners such as was partially developed by the late Commissioner Ellis of New Jersey.

A final word on humility. A hospital patient is not necessarily the best authority on hospital administration. The ex-prisoner, as a result of his experience alone, is no more qualified as a progressive penologist. The ex-prisoner has a great deal to contribute, and will play an important part in penal progress if he is able to find and accept his place in the vital movement to make prisons truly welfare institutions.

The prison is society's last resort for the individuals who mirror society's deepest failures. To help the prison fulfil society's obligation to these individuals requires a deep religious concern and a fundamental faith in the worth of human personality, no matter how warped and perverted its outward shape. And that is not all. It further requires a thorough understanding of human behavior problems and the training and skill to deal with them constructively.

ROBERT S. BURGESS.

India's Christians

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

In the July issue of FELLOWSHIP, I note that in some statistical figures the number of Christians in India is given as 3,000,000. I think you will find that the Christians in India at the census of 1931 numbered more than 6,000,000, and in 1941 more than 8,000,000.

CHARLES L. CARHART

Mr. Carhart is correct. The Foreign Missions Conference reports that the most recent figure for the number of Christians in India is 8,000,000. The smaller figure used in our news story was quoted from THE NEW YORK TIMES, June 18, 1946, as the statement of Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, leader of the Scheduled Castes.

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